23

REASONS

Humbly offered for the

LIBERTY

OF

Unlicens'd Printing.

To which is Subjoin'd,

The Juſt and True CHARACTER

OF

Edmund Bohun,

The Licenſer of the Preſs.

In a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country, to a Member of Parliament.

London, Printed in the Year MDCXCIII.

REASONS

FOR

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REASONS humbly offered for the Liberty of Unlicenſed Printing, *&c.*

AT our Leiſure-Minutes (*Honoured Sir*) we have entertained our ſelves with Diſcourſes about the *Printing-Act*, wherein you having ſeemed to like the Reſtraint of the Preſs, and that Law being now expiring, I ſhall here preſent you with the Reaſons, which incline me to wiſh that the Preſs may be open to all, and may not continue to be under the Spaniſh Gag.

In the diſcharge of this Undertaking, I ſhall lay before you; Firſt, *The Inventors of Licenſing Books.* Next, *That this Law avails nothing to the ſuppreſſing of Scandalous, Seditious and Libellous Books, which were (or ought to be) mainly intended to be ſuppreſs'd.* Laſtly, *That it highly tends to the diſcouragement of all Learning, and the ſtep of Truth; not only by blunting Mens Abilities in what they know already, but by hindring and ſtunting the Diſcovery that might be yet further made both in Religious and Civil Wiſdom.*

This Project of *Licenſing* crept out of the *Inquiſition.* After the Emperors became Chriſtian, the Books of thoſe whom they took to be grand Hereticks, were examined, refuted and condemned in the General Councils; and not till then were prohibited or burnt by Authority of the Emperor.

The Primitive Councils and Biſhops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, paſſing no further, but leaving it to each one's Conſcience to read or lay by; till after the Year 800, as was obſerved by *Padre Paolo*, the great Unmasker of the *Trentine* Council. After which time the Popes of *Rome* engroſſing what they pleaſed of Political Rule into their own Hands, extended their Dominion over Mens Eyes, as they had before over their Judgments; burning and prohibiting to be read, what they fancied not: Yet they were ſparing in their Cenſures, and the Books not many which they ſo dealt with; till Pope *Martin* the 5*th* by his Bull, not only prohibited, but was the firſt that excommunicated the reading

of Heretical Books; for about that time *Wickliff* and *Huss* growing terrible to the Romish Church, were they who firſt drave the Papal Court to a ſtricter Policy of prohibiting: which Courſe Pope *Leo* the tenth and his Succeſſors followed, until the Council of *Trent*, and the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, engendring together, brought forth, or perfected thoſe Catalogues and *Expurging Indexes*, that rake through the Entrails of many an old good Author, with a Violation worſe than any could be offered to his Tomb. Nor did they ſtay in Matters Heretical, but any Subject that was not to their Palat, they either condemned, or had it ſtreight into the *New Purgatory* of an *Index*. To fill up the Meaſure of Encrouchment, their laſt Invention was to ordain, That no *Book, Pamphlet or Paper* ſhould be printed, (as if St. *Peter* had bequeath'd them the Keys of the Preſs alſo out of Paradiſe) unleſs it were approv'd and licenſ'd under the Hands of two or three Glutton-Friars.

And thus, *Sir*, you have the *Inventers*, and the Original of *Book-Licenſing* ripp'd up: We have it not, that can be heard of, from any Ancient State, or Polity, or Church; nor by any Statute left us by our Anceſtors elder or later; nor from the Moderne Cuſtom of any Reformed City, or Church abroad; but from the moſt Antichriſtian Council, and the moſt Tyrannous Inquiſition that ever inquir'd. Till then, Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other Birth; the Iſſue of the Brain was no more ſtifled than the Iſſue of the Womb: No *envious Juno* ſate croſs-legg'd over the Nativity of any Man's Intellectual Off-ſpring; but if it prov'd a Monſter, who denies but that it was juſtly burnt?

But ſome will ſay, What tho the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may be ſo; yet if that thing be no ſuch deep Invention, but obvious and eaſy for any Man to light on, and yet the beſt and wiſeſt Commonwealths through all Ages and Occaſions, have forborn to uſe it, and the falſeſt Seducers and Oppreſſors of Men, were the firſt who took it up, and to no other purpoſe but to obſtruct and hinder the firſt Approach of *Reformation*; I am of thoſe who believe that it will be a harder *Alchymy* than *Lullius* ever knew, to ſublimate any good Uſe out of ſuch an Invention. Yet this only is what I requeſt to gain from this Reaſon, that it may be held a dangerous and ſuſpicious Fruit, as certainly it deſerves, from the Tree that bore it, until I can diſſect one by one the Properties it has.

I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous Enterprize of *Licenſing* can be exempted from the Number of vain and impoſſible Attempts. And he who were pleaſantly diſpos'd, could not well avoid to liken it to the Exploit of that Gallant Man, who thought to pound up the Crows by ſhutting his Park-gate.

Beſides, how ſhall *the Licencers* themſelves be confided in, unleſs we can confer upon them, as they aſſume to themſelves above all others in the Land, the Grace of Infallibility and Uncorruptedneſs? And again, *The Law of Licenſing* conduces nothing to the End for which it was fram'd: If we think to regulate Printing, thereby to rectify Manners, we muſt alſo regulate all Recreations and Paſtimes, all that is delightful to Man. No Muſick muſt be heard, no Song be ſet or ſung, but what is Grave. There muſt be *Licenſing Dancers*; that no Geſture, Motion, or Deportment be taught our Youth, but what by their Allowance ſhall be thought Honeſt. It will aſk more than the Work of twenty Licencers, to examine all the Lutes, the Violins, and the Ghittars in every Houſe; they muſt not be ſuffer'd to prattle as they do, but muſt be Licens'd what they may ſay. And who ſhall ſilence all the Airs and Madrigalls that whiſper Softneſs in Chambers? Then, what more National Corruption, for which *England* bears Ill abroad, than houſhold Gluttony? Who ſhall be the Rectors of our daily Rioting? Our Garments alſo ſhould be referr'd to the Licenſing of ſome more grave Taylors, to ſee them cut into a leſs wanton Garb. And a *Licenſing Office* ſhould be erected over the Tire-Women, to check the tow'ring height of Topknots and Commodes. Who ſhall regulate all the mixt Converſation of our Youth, Male and Female together? Who ſhall appoint what ſhall be diſcours'd, what preſum'd, and no further? Laſtly, Who ſhall forbid and ſeparate all idle Reſort, all evil Company? Theſe things will be; but how they ſhall be leaſt hurtful, herein conſiſts the grave and governing Wiſdom of a State. *Licenſing of Books* neceſſarily pulls along with it ſo many other kinds of Licenſing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet fruſtrate. But grant the thing to be prohibited were only Books, it appears that the Law is far inſufficient to the End which it intends. Do we not ſee, not once or oftner, but weekly, nay daily, that continued *Jacobite-Libels* againſt our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, are printed and diſperſed amongſt us, for all that *Licenſing* can do? Yet this is the prime Service a Man would

would think, wherein this Law should give proof of it self. If it were executed you'l say. But certain, if Execution be remiss or blindfold now, and in this Particular, what will it be hereafter?

Another Reason, whereby to make it plain that this Law will miss the End it seeks, may be from the Consideration of the Quality which ought to be in every *Licenser*. It cannot be deny'd, but that he who is made a Judg, to sit upon the Birth or Death of Books, whether they may be wafted into this World, or not, had need to be a Man above the common Measure, both Studious, Learned and Judicious; there may be else no mean Mistakes in the Censure of what is passable, or not; which is also no mean Injury. If he be of such Worth as behooves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing Journey-work, a greater loss of time levied upon his Head, than to be made the perpetual Reader of unchosen Books and Pamphlets, ofttimes huge Volumes. And I must, with the leave of *the present Licencer*, *Mr.* Bohun, say, that his short Trial hath wearied him out already, as I shall demonstrate before I close this Letter, and his own Expressions and Excuses to them who make so many Journeys to sollicite his Licence, are Testimony enough. Seeing therefore he who now possesses the Imployment, by all evident Signs, wishes himself well rid of it; and that no Man of Worth, none that is not a plain Unthrift of his own Hours, is ever likely to succeed him, except he mean to put himself to the Salary of *a Press-Corrector*, we may easily foresee what kind of *Licencers* we are to expect hereafter; either Ignorant, Imperious and Remiss, or basely Mercenary. This is what I design'd, to shew wherein this Law cannot conduce to that End, whereof it bears the Intention.

I lastly proceed from the *no Good* it can do, to the *manifest Hurt* it must cause, in being first the greatest Discouragement and Affront that can be offer'd to Learning and Learned Men; and I affirm, that so far to distrust the Judgment and the Honesty of one who hath but a common Repute in Learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his Mind without *a Tutor* and *Examiner*, is the greatest Displeasure and Indignity to a free and knowing Spirit, that can be put upon him. What Advantage is it to be a Man, over it is to be a Boy at School; if we have only scap'd the *Ferula*, to come under the *Fescue* of an *Imprimatur*? If serious and elaborate Writings, as if they were no

more

more than the Theme of a Grammar-Lad under his Pedagogue, must not be utter'd without the Corfory Eyes of *a temporizing and extemporizing Licencer*. He who is not truſted with his own Actions, his drift not being known to be evil, and ſtanding to the Hazard of *Law and Penalty*, has no great Argument to think himſelf reputed in the Common-wealth wherein he was born, for other than a Fool or a Foreigner.

When a Man writes to the World, he ſummons up all his Reaſon and Deliberation to aſſiſt him; he ſearches, meditates, is induſtrious, and likely conſults and confers with his judicious Friends; after all which done, he takes himſelf to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him: If in this he muſt be ſtill miſtruſted and ſuſpected, unleſs he carry all his conſiderate Diligence to the haſty View of *an unlearn'd Licenſer*, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his Inferiour in Judgment, perhaps one who never knew the Labour of Book-writing; and if he be not repuls'd or ſlighted, muſt appear in Print like a Puny with his *Guardian*, and his *Cenſor's* Hand on the back of his Title-Page, to be his *Bail* and *Surety*, that he is no *Idiot* or *Seducer*; it cannot be but a Diſhonour and Derogation to the Author, to the Book, to the Privilege and Dignity of Learning.

Further (Honored Sir) it ſeems to me an Undervaluing and Vilifying of our whole Nation, I cannot ſet ſo light by all the Invention, the Art, the Wit, the grave and ſolid Judgment which is in *England*, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty Capacities how good ſoever, much leſs that it ſhould not paſs except their Superintendence be over it, except it be ſifted and ſtrain'd with their Strainers; that it ſhould be uncurrant without their manual Stamp. We muſt not think to make a Staple Commodity of all the Knowledg in the Land, to mark and ſeale it like our broad-Cloth, and our Wool-Packs: What is it but a Servitude like that impoſed by the *Philiſtines*, not to be allowed the ſharpening of our own Axes and Coulters, but we muſt repair from all Quarters to twenty *Licenſing Forges*.

There is yet behind of what I purpoſed to lay open, the incredible Loſs and Detriment that this *Plot of Licenſing* puts us to, more than if the *French* at Sea ſhould ſtop up all our Havens, and Ports, and Creeks; it hinders and retards the Importation of our richeſt Merchandize, *Truth*: Nay it was firſt eſtabliſh'd and put in Practice by *Antichriſtian Malice and Myſtery*, on ſet Purpoſe to ex-

extinguish, if it were possible, the Light of *Reformation*, and to settle Falshood, little differing from that Policy wherewith the *Turk* upholds his *Alcoran*, by the Prohibition of Printing. Though all the Winds of Doctrine should be let loose to play upon the Earth, so *Truth* be in the Feild, we do injuriously, by Licensing and Prohibiting, to misdoubt her Strength: Let her and Falshood grapple. Whoever knew *Truth* put to the worst, in a free and open Encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest Suppressing. What a Collusion is this, when as we are exhorted by the wise Man to use Diligence, *to seek for Wisdom as for hidden Treasure, early and late*, that another Law shall injoin us to know nothing but by Statute?

When a Man hath been laboring the hardest Labour in the deep Mines of Knowledg, hath furnished out his Findings in all their Equipage, drawn forth his Reasons as it were a Batel rang'd, scatter'd and defeated all Objections in his way, calls out his Adversary into the Plain, offers him the Advantage of Wind and Sun, if he please; only that he may try the Matter by dint of Argument; for his Opponent then to skulk, to lay Ambushments, to keep a narrow Brig of *Licensing* where the Challenger should past. Though it be Policy in Souldiership, is but Weakness and Cowardize in the Wars of *Truth*: For who knows not that *Truth is strong next to the Almighty?* she needs no Policies, nor Stratagems, nor Licensings to make her victorious; those are the Shifts and the Defences that Error uses against her Power.

There were not a few Men of Note about the time of the late happy Revolution, who by their *unlicensed Books*, to the Contempt of an *Imprimatur*; first cured that *Cataract* that blinded our Eyes, and inabled the People to see Day. It may be reasonably hoped that none of those will be the Perswaders to renew upon us the Bondage which they themselves have wrought so much Good by contemning, and execute the most *Dominican* Part of the *Inquisition* over us: Should they be guilty in this Respect, I conclude that the Change of their Condition hath puffed them up more than their late Experience of *Tyrannous Practices* hath made them wise.

And as for regulating the Press, surely no better Advice can be given, than that no Book be printed, unless the *Publisher* and the *Author*'s Name, or at least the *Publisher*'s be registred. Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the Fire and the Executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual Remedy that Man's Prevention can use.

To

To conclude (Sir) I shall lay before you some few of the ill Practices which have been used under the Pretence of *Licensing* Books. In the Beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* I. Bishop *Laud* was charged by a Petition of the *Printers* and *Booksellers* to the House of *Commons*, that the Licensing of Books being wholly restrained to him and his *Chaplains*, he allowed Books which favoured Popery, but denied to license such as were written against it. And I remember that I have somewhere read a Remark which that great and good Man Archbishop *Abbot* made upon *Laud*'s Licensing, and 'tis to this Effect, if not in his very Words; *To publish a good Book was made then a Sin, and an ill one a Vertue; and while one came out with Authority, the other could not have a Dispensation; so that we seem'd to have got an* Expurgatory Press, *though not an* Index: *and the most religious Truth must be expung'd and suppressed in order to the false and secular Interest of some of the Clergy.*

To come nearer to our Times. Mr. *Baxter* wrote his *Saints Rest*, about the Year 1651. and it was often printed before the Restoration; but the famous *L'Estrange* having by his Solicitation procured the *Printing Act* to pass in 1662. this Book was then licensed to be printed by one Dr. *Gregg*, the Bishop of *London*'s Chaplain; nevertheless I am assured that it coming to be reprinted in the late King's Reign, it was stopp'd, the Sheets seized, and an Information brought against the Printers in the Crown-Office. Also in the same Reign the Assemblies Catechism being found Printing by one *Howe*, the poor Man was indicted for it at the *Old Baily*, and forc'd to leave his Trade, and fly the Kingdom. And yet at this time such Books as were wrote to promote *Popery and Tyranny*, were printed and published without Controul.

Sir, In a great Hurry I presume to hint these things to you, and I will hope that the Wisdom of this Parliament will provide against such wicked Practices.

I am

Your most humble Servant.

January 17, 1693.

J. M.

POSTSCRIPT.

NOW (Sir) as you desired by your last, which I received just as I was going to seal this Letter, I proceed to give you something of the Character of *Edmund Bohun*, the present *Licenser* at the Press, in the doing whereof I shall pursue this Method:

1. *Lay down his Principles as to the English Government.*
2. *His Notions about our Parliaments.* And,
3. *His Practices in the late Reign, and also under the present, and particularly in the Post of Licensing.*

To begin: As to the Government, take a Taste of this Gentleman from his Pamphlet, called, *A Defence of Sir* Robert Filmer, *against the Paper left by* Algernon Sidney, *Esq. before his Execution, 7 Dec.* 1683. (printed for *Walter Kenely* in St. *Paul's*-Church-Yard.)

(*Pag.* 6.) 'In Effect (saith he) the King doth swear to keep no 'Laws but such as in his Judgment are upright, and those not li-'terally always, but according to the Equity of his Conscience 'joined with Mercy.

'And if a King did strictly swear to observe all the Laws, he 'could not without Perjury give his Consent to the repealing or ab-'rogating of any Statute by Act of Parliament.

(*Pag.* 7.) 'If it please God for the Correction of the Prince, or 'Punishment of the People, to inflict Princes to be removed, and 'others to be placed in their Rooms, either by the Factions of the 'Nobility, or Rebellion of the People, in all such Cases, the 'Judgment of God, who hath Power to give and take away King-'doms, is most just; yet the Ministry of Men, who execute God's 'Judgments without Commission, is sinful and damnable.

(*Pag.* 8.) 'I will give the best Judgment I can (saith my Au-'thor), when and how far Subjects are bound to submit to an Usur-

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'per. I say, taking an Usurper in the right Notion, for one 'that hath no lawful or just Title, the Subjects are bound to 'resist him, and stand for the lawful Heir and his Posterity, 'as long as they are or can be known, as far as is possible, without 'apparent Destruction.

'But if the right Heir or Family fail, or is extinguish'd, then 'that Obligation fails, and the Event is to be taken as the Declara-'tion of the Will of God; and the Heirs of the Usurper will have 'a good Title against any other Person or Family in the World.

'And that Injury which Usurpers do, is reserved to the Jus-'tice of a Righteous and Almighty God, who will punish 'them severely in the next World, if they escape in this.

'I say (quoth he) that in every Society or Community under 'Heaven, that is perfect within it self, and doth not depend upon 'another, there must be an absolute and uncontroulable Power 'fixed some where, which may indispensably and irresistibly dis-'pose of the Estates and Persons of the Subject within that Society 'or Community.

(*Pag.* 12.) 'He [*Colonel* SIDNEY, saith my Author] hath 'another odd Notion, That though a Prince, who hath no Title, 'puts by, or puts out one that hath an undoubted Title to an Here-'ditary Kingdom; yet if he have the Consent of the People '(which he calls an Act of State) he is no Usurper, because he 'obtains the Crown by the Consent of a willing Nation. Than 'which (saith the Remarker) there can be nothing more injurious 'to Hereditary Kingdoms. Whereas the true Notion of an 'Usurper is, one that obtains the possession of a Throne, to 'which he hath no rightful Title, whether he come in by the 'Consent of the People, or without it, by Force, Fraud, or 'Faction.

In the next Place I lead you (Sir) to *Bolon's Preface to Sir* Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*; *or the Natural Power of Kings*, printed for Mr. *Chiswel*, 1685. whence I collect these ensuing Positions.

'*England* is under a Monarchy; and it is an Imperial Monarchy 'too, depending upon none but God Almighty. Nor can any 'Power upon Earth set the least Limitation to it against the Con-'sent of the proper Monarch for the time being, without Trea-'son, and Rebellion, and Perjury; and if please Sacrilege 'too.

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' If a Prince breaks his Oath, and acts againſt his Laws, ' he is ' not reſponſible to his Subjects: For if by Tyranny he ſhould ' forfeit his Crown, it does not Eſcheat to the People, but to ' God, who is the ſole Diſpoſer of Kingdoms, and Puniſher of ' Princes.

☞ ' Now truly *(ſaith Bohun)* I would adviſe this Gentleman ' [*meaning the Author of* Patriarcha non Monarcha] never to mar- ' ry, for fear his Children turn Rebels againſt him, and teach ' him, by their Example, how dangerous a thing it is to read ' Lectures of Diſobedience to Parents, in an Age in which Chil- ' dren, without ſuch Lectures, are too apt to Rebel and Reſiſt ' thoſe to whom they owe both their Being and Well-being in the ' World.

' God extends his Judgments to the third and fourth Genera- ' tion *(ſaith he)*. Now as no Uſurpation can ſucceed without ' God's Permiſſion, ſo much leſs can it eſtabliſh it ſelf, or conti- ' nue long without his particular Bleſſing and Providence; who ' being the Sovereign Peoprietor of Kingdoms, may, without ' Injury to any Man, diſpoſe of them to whom he pleaſes: but ' this being no way to be known but by the Event, when a Fami- ' ly have enjoyed a Kingdom, or any thing elſe ABOVE FOUR ' DESCENTS, Men are not to look back to ſee how it was ac- ' quired, but to acquieſce in the Pleaſure of God diſcovered by ' his Providence; and the Subjects of that Prince are THEN ' [*after four Deſcents*] bound to ſerve and defend him, as well as ' if he could derive his Pedigree from the eldeſt Son of *Noah*.

' Yet this is no Encouragement to Traitors to rebel and uſurp ' upon their Princes; for they that firſt begin theſe Uſurpations, ' are liable at once, both to the Wrath of God for rebelling a- ' gainſt their lawful Princes, and to the Juſtice of thoſe Princes ' too; and do very often pay dearly for it, and are diſappointed ' in this World in the firſt Attempt, or after a ſhort time in their ' Poſterity, but however are certain never to eſcape the Juſtice ' of God in the World to come.———

☞ ' *Where there is no Right, there is no Uſurpation:* As if *Lam- ' bert* had depoſed *Cromwel* and ſet up himſelf, he had not been an ' Uſurper upon him or his Family, but upon the King who had ' the Right.

' O. Cromwel *was inveſted with the Power by the People* or Army, ' or who you pleaſe; but yet for all that, every Perſon that was

' executed

'executed during his Reign, was murdered, *Oliver* not having any 'lawful Power of Life and Death, which the People could not 'give him, it does not appear God had, *his late Majesty, in 'whom that Right was, being all that while kept out by Violence.*———

'Without doubt Princes ought not to abuse their Power; but 'if they do, their Subjects ought not to take Arms to revenge 'their Quarrel: for whether it be sooner or later, that will not 'mend the Matter, & *they are Rebels whenever they do it, be the 'Cause what it will.*———

'The Prince is the Minister of *God*, the only *unaccountable Per-'son* to any but *God*; and *God is bound in Honour* to assert him a-'gainst all that shall rise up against him. All violent and *undutiful Resistance is a Rebellion against God Almighty*, and can never 'go unpunished in this or the next World, *be the Cause or Pretence 'what it will.*

Take next (Sir) *Bohun*'s Positions about Government, as I transcribe them from his third Part of his *Address to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation*; printed for *George Wells* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, 1683.

Two things (saith he, *Pag.* 63. of that villanous Libel) *I will lay down as undoubted Rules or Maxims.*

1. 'That the Kingdom of *England* is an Hereditary Kingdom 'or Monarchy, which for Ages hath gone to the next Heirs of 'the Blood-Royal, without any Election or Consent of the Peo-'ple, otherwise than by acknowledging their lawful Right deri-'ved from God, by their Blood to them.

2. 'That this Hereditary Monarchy was set up at first, and 'hath been since upheld and maintained by the Providence of 'God.

'From which two I will infer this Conclusion; & That *who-'ever shall attempt to alter this Right of Succession, without a manifest 'Revelation*, (which is not now to be expected) *is a notorious Usur-'per upon the Right of the Person who is to succeed, be the Pretence for 'it what it will*; and *a Rebel* against that Providence which gave 'him that Right.

'Nor will the Ancient Rebellions, Usurpations and Disorders, 'which have happen'd in this Kingdom, justify them that shall 'begin them again.

'Now if it should please God so to order it, that the Duke '[*of York*] should, at his Majesty's Death, be the next Heir to

'his

'his Crown; I cannot see how any Humane Power shall prevent
'his Succession to it, but by encroaching upon his Right, and by
'rebelling against the Divine Providence that gave it to him.

(*Pag.* 64.) So that (saith my Author) *be the Inconveniences which shall follow upon such a Succession, what they will or can be, we must submit to them upon pain of Rebellion against both God and his Anointed, our lawful Prince.*———

So that I conclude, *neither the Church of* England, *nor any of her Children, will be guilty of a Rebellion against such a Prince,* COME WHAT WILL COME.

My Author saith, (*Pag.* 78. of his second part of his *Address*) *I wonder in what part of the Gospel, Men learned to defend Christ's Religion by Rebellion: But we must know this is pure Scotch, Calvinistical, Jesuitical Doctrine.*———

2. I come now (*Sir*) to observe to you this highly meriting *Licenser*'s Opinion of our Parliaments.

In his first Part of his *Address to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation*, he thus declares himself, (*Pag.* 3.) *I was bred a Dissenter from the Religion now established. A GREAT ADMIRER OF PARLIAMENTS*, &c.——— *But I must confess I have seen great Reason to alter in part from what I was*, &c.

He saith, (*Pag.* 26.) 'The Dissenters shuffled such Members
'into the *Long Loyal Parliament*, [The *Pensionary Parliament* he
'means] upon the several Deaths that happen'd during the many
'Years that Parliament was kept on Foot, that by this means they
'*have made Parliaments almost Impeachable*, and at last made that
'*Long Loyal Parliament* to act so much unlike it self, that his Ma-
'jesty, who for many Years lived with it with all the Caresses of
'a happy Marriage, was yet at length forced to give her a Bill of
'Divorce, after she had lost that Loyalty and Affection, and du-
'tiful Behaviour which she had before shewed towards him.

He proceeds (*Pag.* 44.) 'By the Frauds of the *Jesuits* Abroad,
'and the Fury of the *Dissenters* within Doors, *this Long, Loyal,*
'*Healing, truly Protestant Parliament fell*, and with it the Terror
'of *France*, the Bulwark of our *Protestant Allies*, the Pillars of
'the Monarchy, the Peace and Prosperity of the *British Isles*,
'and the Glory of *England*. May my Reader pardon me, if I
'drop a few Tears at the Funeral of so great a Body, and which
'had deserved so well of his Majesty, the Church, the State, and

'all

'all *Europe*; and *I could almost say with* David, *Would God I had 'died for thee.*

In his second part of his *Address to Freemen and Freeholders*, Pag. 15. My Author giving an Account of the Parliament which met the 6th of *March*, 167½, proceeds thus.

'Friday, 4 *Apr. An Act for the better discovery and more speedy 'Conviction of Popish Recusants*, sent down from *the Lords*, was read 'the second time, and committed to a Committee; who were 'also to bring in a Clause to prevent any of the Royal Family 'from Matching with Popish Recusants.

Upon which he thus interrogates that excellent House of Commons: *Was not this that Tacking of things of a different Nature together, which his Majesty had resolved Against?*

He tells us, Pag. 20. '*The Commons* resolved Saturday the 26th 'of *March*, 1679, to sit the next Day to consider of the best 'means to secure and preserve the Kings Person, and also the 'Protestant Religion, against the Attempts of the Papists, both 'in the Reign of his Majesty and his Successors.

'And *accordingly they did sit and begun the Day very inauspiciously*, 'etc. ——— They voted that a Bill be brought in to banish all 'Papists, or reputed Papisty, from *London*, &c.

'Then it was Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, That the Duke 'of *York*, being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming hath to the 'Crown, had given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the present Conspirators, and the designs of the Papists, 'the King and the Protestant Religion.

Nemine contradicente (quoth he, Pag. 37.) *shews* the strength of the Party, and not the Consent of the whole House.

Pag. 31. 'On Sunday, *May* 11, (quoth our present Licenser) 'The Commons voted that a Bill be brought in to disable the 'Duke of *York* to inherit the Crown.

'This (as he affirms) proved the Occasion of breaking all the 'following Parliaments on this Day [1680], and thereby to secure the Popish Lords in the Tower from Trial, and to prevent 'all the excellent Laws that were then under Consideration. 'And finally, it proved an Obstacle of Union between the King 'and the Houses, to the great Advantage of our Enemies at 'Home and Abroad; to the great hazard of the Nation, and 'more especially of the Protestant Religion, which was pretended to be secured by it.

Raiga'

My

My Author (*Pag.* 39, 40, 41.) remarking ſtill upon this Parliament, puts down the particular Votes and Proceedings of *the Commons* (on the 23*d* of *May*, 1679) to diſcover *the Penſioners* of the laſt Parliament; and thus reflects upon them (Pag. 51). To conclude this matter, *As there was never any Law to prohibit Parliament-Men from taking the Liberality of our Princes in time of Parliament, ſo there was the greater reaſon for it in this Parliament, which* LASTED TOO LONG *to the Ruine of many Gentlemen of ſmall Eſtates, who were Members of it.*

My Author here verifies our common Proverb, that *Liars ſhould have good Memories.* He had now put off his Mourning, and wip'd away his Tears for the Diſſolution of his *Long-Loyal-Parliament*, and forgot his Expreſſion (*Pag.* 44) of his firſt part, I could almoſt ſay with David, *Would God I had died for Thee.* And yet here we have him of Opinion that this Parliament laſted too long, *&c.*

But not to interrupt him, ſee what follows (*Pag.* 47) On the 27*th* of *May*, the King Prorogued both Houſes to the 14*th* day of *Auguſt*.

'The News of this Prorogation (*ſaith he*) was no ſooner 'ſpread, but the Cry was taken up by the *zealous Impoſtors*, that 'it was done of purpoſe to hinder the Trial of the Popiſh Lords.

My Author (*Pag.* 49) begins a long Relation of *a Scotiſh Rebellion* in 1679; and (Pag. 74) ſaith, 'I cannot but admire the 'Providence of God in preventing this *Preſbyterian Plot*, by a 'Prorogation in the very Nick of Time, without which this Re'bellion would in all likelihood have had much countenance from 'ſome in *England* who encouraged it under-hand.

My Author throughout his *third Part of his Addreſs to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation*, moſt impudently ſlanders that highly meriting Parliament, which was ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 17*th* of *Oct.* 1679, but by many Prorogations was kept off till *October* 1680. For Inſtance,

'He tells us (*Pag.* 46) Mr. *Harbord* reported an Addreſs for the 'Support of the Kings Perſon and Government, and the Pro'teſtant Religion, *&c.*

'What Proteſtant Religion (*quoth the Remarker*) that by Law 'eſtabliſh'd, or another as contrary to it as Popery?

'The effect ſaith he, (*Pag.* 47) of this *ſpecious Addreſs* was to 'poſſeſs the People what ſtout Champions the *Preſbyterians* are

'againſt

againſt *Popery*; and to let the World know what a horrid Opinion they had of *that ſilly impoſſible Meal-Tub-Plot.*

He proceeds (*Pag.* 49) ſaying, On the 30th of *Octob.* They [*the Houſe of Commons*] paſſed a Vote, That *their Votes ſhould be printed.*

But for this Vote (ſaith he) *it might have been difficult to have known what they had done, SO AS TO HAVE CHARG'D THEM.* ——*This printing their Votes could be deſigned for nothing but to enable the People to paſs a Judgment on their Actions; One of which Number I am,* (quoth he).

He proceeds (*Pag.* 50) ſaying, One Hardwich *being accuſed of ſome Miſdemeanors againſt a Witneſs in the Popiſh Plot, was ordered to be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, to anſwer the ſame.*

He now paſſes his Judgment upon them thus, *This was to puniſh a Man before they knew whether he were guilty or no, upon a bare Suggeſtion.*

He [Hardwich] *was continued in Cuſtody during the Pleaſure of the Houſe* [Not one tittle, (ſaith *One of the Many*) being inſerted concerning the Nature of his Miſdemeanors]. (Pag. 51) *Mr. Licencer* informs us, that it was *Reſolved*, Nemine contradicente, *That a Bill be brought in for the better Uniting of Proteſtants.*

This alſo offended him, and he ſaith, *It was a New Name for a Toleration.*

Turn now, I pray you, Sir, to Pag. 53. and you will read thus; *Reſolved, Nemine contradicente, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James *againſt Popiſh Recuſants, ought not to be extended againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters.*

But my Author is of another Mind; for he ſaith, *It would have been well if we had been told why they ought not to be extended to all that break them, one as well as another.*

Now he, who in his Day was (as a Juſtice of Peace in *Suffolk*) as furious a Proſecutor of *Proteſtant Diſſenters* as was to be found in *England*, would do well to tell us the Name of one *Papiſt* upon whom he executed theſe Laws.

He ſaith, (Pag. 54.) *A Bill to diſable the Duke of* York *was read the ſecond time.*

Upon which he gives this Opinion, (Pag. 55.) *This Bill perhaps may be made to appear to be of another Nature than was*

pretended,

pretended, and rather againſt any thing than Popery.

I am ſure (ſaith he, *pag.* 58.) *that they* [the Commons] *became more hated than feared by their Proceedings.*——

And (*pag.* 60.) 'On the 15*th* of *November*, the Bill for diſabling 'the Duke of *York* was read the firſt time in the Houſe of Lords; 'and the Queſtion being put, Whether it ſhould be read again? the 'Houſe divided; No's, 63. Yea's, 30. So it was thrown out, 'THE BISHOPS ALL APPEARING AGAINST THE BILL, 'EXCEPT THREE.

Pag. 71. 'To me it ſeems (*ſaith my Author*) the Reaſons upon 'which the Bill of Excluſion is founded, are weak and unconclu- 'ding; and that no Malice could have contrived a more effectual 'way to haſten thoſe Calamities upon us, which it pretends to pre- 'vent.

Read him again, *pag.* 99. 'It [*the paſſing the Bill to exclude the* 'Duke *of* York] is ſo far from preventing our Calamities, that it 'will aſcertain them at his Majeſty's Death, with the Addition of a 'Civil War, *&c.*

He proceeds (*pag.* 101.) 'On the 24*th* of *December*, they ['the 'Commons] took occaſion to chaſtiſe *Richard Thompſon*, Clerk, very 'ſeverely; for he having been complained of by ſome of the Diſ- 'ſenters, who were now White-Boys, and the Sober Loyal Proteſ- 'ſtants; The Houſe remitted it to a Committee, *&c.*

'He was accuſed for ſeveral Expreſſions both in Preaching and 'Diſcourſe: He ſaid, it ſeems, the Presbyterians were ſuch Perſons 'as the Devil bluſh'd at. Accuſed *Hambden* for chooſing to rebel, 'rather than pay Ship-money, which he ſaid was the King's Right 'by Law.

'He had ſaid, There was great Noiſe of a Popiſh Plot, but there 'was nothing in it but a Presbyterian Plot.

'He was accuſed to have approved of the Doctrine of the Church 'of *Rome* in the Points of Juſtification, Auricular Confeſſion, Pe- 'nance, Extreme Unction, Chriſm in Baptiſm, *&c.*

'Upon inquiry I find (ſaith *Rohun*) notwithſtanding all this Cla- 'mour, the Man hath a great and good Report for his Piety, Lear- 'ning and Prudence; but his Zeal for the Religion eſtabliſh'd, 'drew this Storm upon him from the exaſperated Diſſenters, who 'never ſtick thus to blaſt the Fame of Good Men, when it ſerves 'their ill Deſigns.

But

But what have we next? Why, *pag.* 103. It was Reſolved, *Nemine contradicente*, That no Member of this Houſe ſhall accept of 'any Office, or Place of Profit from the Crown, without leave of 'the Houſe; or any Promiſe of any ſuch Office or Place of Profit, 'during ſuch time as he ſhall continue a Member of the Houſe.

'It ſeems *(quoth the Remarker)* they had diſcovered that ſome of 'their zealous Men were ſelling themſelves to the Court-Party for 'Preferment, and prepared this Vote to keep the Party together.

Pag. 106. 'The Houſe ordered Mr. *Thompſon*, *Jan.* the 5th, to 'give Security to anſwer an Impeachment.

'I can ſee no reaſon *(ſaith Mr. Cenſurer)* why he ſhould be pro-'ſecuted by an Impeachment:——He might much better have been 'proceeded againſt in the Spiritual or Civil Courts, but that his 'blaſpheming *Calvin* and the Loyal Presbyterian Proteſtants, would 'have ſignified nothing there.

Pag. 111. 'Having taken care *(ſaith he)* to chaſtiſe the Great 'Men, who as they [*the Commons*] believed had oppoſed them in 'the great buſineſs of the Bill of Excluſion. In the next place, they 'undertook to chaſtiſe his Majeſty himſelf; and if their Deſign had 'taken effect, as it is to be hoped it never will, his Majeſty and all 'his Succeſſors ſhould have known what it is to anger a Houſe of 'Commons.

Pag. 115. 'Had the King *(quoth the Babler)* but yielded to theſe 'Proteſtants at large, in the point of the Duke of *York*; they would 'ſoon have taught him, how little was to be gotten by complying 'with Men of their Temper; the only Service they did was to the 'French King.

Pag. 117. 'The Bill for uniting Proteſtants, is a perfect Tolera-'tion of almoſt all other Religions except Popery.

Pag. 119. 'So that the Day a Toleration, or, which is all 'one, an Union amongſt Proteſtants, is ſettled, the Monarchy muſt 'be made Abſolute, or it will not ſtand.

Pag. 120. My Author coming to conclude, ſaith, 'My deareſt 'Countrymen! I humbly beg you to reflect ſeriouſly on this in time, 'if it be not now too late, and unite heartily with his Majeſty, our 'ſweet-natur'd Soveraign, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed, &c.——

'I AM A PRIVATE PERSON, and expect ſo to live and die.

'I HAVE NO AIM AT ANY PUBLICK IMPLOYMENT, or 'Place of Truſt, nor any Means to attain it, if I had.

'As to thoſe Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons *(ſaith he)*

'who may possibly take offence at what I have written, I desire they 'would in cold Blood consider what they have done, and then let 'them think of me what they please: for IF EVER FACTION, 'ANGER, AND ILL DESIGNS were entertained by so great a 'Body of Men as the Major Part of this House was, it is apparent 'they were here.

Allow me, *Sir*, in the next place to entertain you with a few Rarities, which I extract out of this degenerate Wretch's Libel, which he calls, *Reflections on a Pamphlet, stiled, A just and modest Defence of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments*, (printed for *George Wells*, 1683.)

I pass over many particular Instances of his notoriously scandalous Reflections, whereby he impudently traduces the Members of the *Westminster* and *Oxford* Parliaments; and intreat you to cast your Eye upon *pag.* 33. of this envenom'd Libel, where you will find him thus speaking.

'Though his Majesty hath given us the Opportunities of chusing 'three Parliaments one after another, we have not been able to 'send up one that has not fallen into those little Excesses, which 'have occasioned their Dissolution. And at length his Majesty is 'forced for some time to keep us without one, to try if Fasting will 'bring us into our Senses again: and in the mean time the Noise 'of the Popish Plot is drowned by new and more surprizing At'tempts of the Whigs.

Pag. 43. 'I believe *(saith the Incendiary)* all *Europe* will bear me 'witness, that all the great things the French King hath done, were 'in a great measure owing to the Disorders of our English Parlia'ments.——

Pag. 44. Our Author proceeds, saying, '*France* feared the Long 'Loyal Parliament more than threescore such as have followed 'it.

Pag. 95. 'No Act of Parliament can extinguish the Duke's Right, 'which God and Nature hath given him.

Pag. 109. 'The Privileges of the House of Commons are not 'much unlike the Power claimed by the Pope, which is to judg all 'Men, and to be judged by no Man.

Pag. 116. 'He [*King Charles the second*] connived so long at 'the Proceedings of the last Parliament of *Westminster*, that many 'Men wondred, and some murmured.

Having

Having thus, Sir, given you some Touches of the Principles of this Libeller at the Press, I pass on to the last thing which I promised you, which is to give a few Instances of his Practices in the late Reigns, and also under the present, and particularly in his Licensing Post.

1. He was a vehement Stickler for the Surrender of Charters; and in the Dedication of his third Address to the *Abhorrers of Parliaments*, whom he stiles *the Loyal Persons* who addressed King *Charles* the Second for his Declaration, [meaning that which was a Libel upon two Excellent Parliaments] you will find this lewd Expression; 'That which of all other things would the most speedily 'and effectually secure the Nation from a Relapse into Misery and 'Confusion, is, A SURRENDER OF THE CHARTERS of the 'Corporations into his Majesty's Hands, and the taking out of new 'ones, with such Restrictions as he and his Council think fit.

And you may see a dainty Reason for so doing, (pag. 29. of that third Address) 'For all the World (his worst Enemies not 'excepted) acknowledg King *Charles* the Second to be A PRINCE 'OF A GODLIKE GOODNESS and Clemency, even to his 'Enemies.

2. *Bebon*, as a Justice in *Suffolk*, was for many Years the common Disturber of the Peace of that County, in the time of King *Charles* the Second; and that not only by a rigorous Execution of the Laws against Protestant Dissenters, but by encouraging and upholding most villanous Informers in manifest Perjuries; particularly *Keeble* and *Barrel*, two vile Wretches, being upon a very fair Trial, and full Evidence, convicted of Perjury at the Assizes for that County. And a Motion being afterwards made for Judgment against him in the Court of *King's-Bench*, this Tory made a Swear for them, and by a written Affidavit made Oath, that they were *honest Sons of the Church*; by reason whereof Judgment could never be obtained, though frequently moved for by Mr. Serjeant *Treby*, and Mr. Serjeant *Trevaine*, now Members of the present House of Commons.

3. The Law for Liberty to Dissenters, made since the happy Revolution, having put him out of Business in *Suffolk*, he (if his own Word

Word may be taken) was sent for to *London*, and made *Licenser of the Press*, and *Justice of the Place* in *Middlesex*, though, as I before told you, he had declared (*pag.* 120 of his third Address) That he expected to live and die a private Person, and had no Aim at any Publick Imployment or Place of Trust, nor any means to attain it, if he had. I will not pretend to guess by what means he attained his present Post, nor who invited him thereto, but am confident if he brought any Recommendation out of his *Native Country*, it must be from Dr. *Sancroft*. Well, whoever sent for him, or whatever his Merit was, he is thrust into a Place beyond his Aim, and soon gave Evidence of his flaming Zeal: You may read his Opinion (*pag.* 10, of his first Address) 'Presbytery 'was hatch'd in Rebellion, and is totally inconsistent with Mo-'narchy.

Being now fix'd in his *Libelling Post*, he exerts himself according to his bigotted Principle, and licenses many Pamphlets on the side of the *suspended Bishops*, and other *Non-jurors*, and highly favouring the *Jacobite Interest*; when on the other hand he allows Libels to pass into the World, with the Face of Authority, to disparage and vilify *Protestant Dissenters* in this Kingdom; of whom he affirmed, *pag.* 12. of his second Address, That *they should be no more encouraged than Pyrates, and the common Enemies of Mankind:* and rests not there, but hath insolently fallen upon the Church of *Scotland*, and its present Establishment by Parliament, as is evident by the villanous Libels which *Blaspheming Hindmarsh*, the *Cornhil*-Bookseller, hath published under his Protection. And we are not to wonder at what he hath done in this Respect, for he lays it down as a *State-Maxim* (*pag.* 11. of his first Address) *Kings must be the irreconcilable Enemies of the Presbyterian Discipline, as long as they mean to be Masters of their Power.*

This *Apostatized Presbyterian* had asserted (*pag.* 9. of his first *Address*) 'That the Dissenters have mortal Feuds amongst them-'selves, and can no more agree one with another than with the 'Church of *England*. But (*pag.* 44.) he complaining, says, 'They 'made up their own Breaches, and reconciled their own Diffe-'rences.——And now (saith he) O my Country-men [of *Suffolk*] are 'these Vipers to be cherished in your Bosom any longer? Can you 'think a few fruitless Wishes can suppress them? The Dissenters having been taught Wit, to the Grief of this Gentleman and others of his Complexion; those of them called *Presbyterian* and

Con-

Congregational, came to the dreaded *Union*; upon which out flies one *Davis*, in Print, with this ſtately Allowance.

" YOU are hereby allowed to Print and Vend a certain Book, " intituled, *Truth and Innocency vindicated, againſt Falſhood* " *and Malice*, &c. written by *Richard Davis*; and for ſo doing " this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant.

Novemb. 4. 1692. **Edmund Bohun.**

The Vindication of *Truth* and *Innocency* is indeed a very good, and oft-times an abſolutely neceſſary Work, and that in Print too upon ſome Occaſions. Now for the Rarity of this Vindication, I ſhall tranſcribe two or three Paragraphs out of this Book.

(*Pag.* 21.) 'He would be an happy Man that ſhould break all 'the Churches in *England* to Pieces.

(*Pag.* 33.) 'I conclude (ſaith my Author) this Union [of the 'Presbyterian and Congregational Churches] was untimely, be-'cauſe I obſerved that the greateſt Numbers that were to make 'up this Union, were ſuch as had forſook the *CAUSE* and *BAN-'NER* of *Chriſt* [they had gone to Church and heard *COMMON-'PRAYER*] in a Day of Adverſity; and ſince had wip'd their 'Mouths clean, and juſtified themſelves, and yet will be accounted 'great Diſſenters ſtill.

'I (ſaith he, *pag.* 36.) dreaded the Deſign of this UNION, 'leſt it ſhould not be only a means framed for to jump into Bene-'fices——— but alſo a DEVICE OF SATAN to ſtop all 'the Dawnings of NEW LIGHT about Faith and Order.

Sir, I ſhall not pretend to deſcant upon theſe Doctrines, becauſe I am equally conſcious that 'tis no more my Province to paraphraſe upon them, than 'twas that *Stbiſmatick Bohun's* to licenſe them. For I remember *the Act for preventing Abuſes in Printing*, &c. 14 *Car.* 2. directs, that the Principal Secretaries of State, or one of them [it ſeems there were two in that Day] *or ſome by their or one of their Appointments, ſhould licenſe all Books of Hiſtory concerning the State of the Realm, or other Books concerning any Affairs of State.*

Indeed Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* extended this, to hook into his Commiſſion, under the *Secretary*, the Licenſing of the *Play-Houſe-Bills*, for which there might then be ſome Reaſon, it being in that Day,

Day *a grand Affair of State* to debauch the People. But it cannot enter my Head, that it is so in this happy Reign, to set *Protestants* together by the Ears; to break all the Churches in *England* to Pieces. To assert them to be *Renegades* from the *Banner* of *Christ*, who shall hear a Church-of-*England*-Minister; and that the honest and Christian Design of uniting Protestants, is a Device of Satan, to stop the Dawnings of *New Light*. And I humbly conceive that the Act did refer such high Points as these to the Judgment of *Divines*; for it saith expresly, (after it directs who shall license *Law-Books*; who, Books concerning *Heraldry*) *That all other Books, whether of Divinity, Physick, Philosophy, or whatsoever other Science or Art, shall be licensed and allowed by the Lord Archbishop of* Canterbury, *and Lord Bishop of* London, *or one of them, or by their, or one of their Appointments.*

But I leave *Bohun* to answer his Usurpation upon my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and my Lord of *London*, and shall only say that I do not believe that their Lordships, or any of their Chaplains would have suffered such Doctrines as fill the Book I mention, to have seen the Sun under their Allowance. But the *Dissenters* are *Vipers*; and Justice *Bohun* (their Plague in *Suffolk*, when in Power) grew pettish, when the Law delivered them from his Rage; and having leap'd into *London*, doth now persecute them at the Press; and left their Breaches should be made up, he claps his Hands, and indeavours to excite them to worry one another. But, *Bonum est ab hoste doceri.*

He stopp'd not in Church-Matters, but it being without doubt in his Opinion, a Matter of State, that Sir *Jonathan Raymond* should be Lord Mayor of *London*, he very pragmatically interposed in the Civil Government of the City, and to promote Sir *Jonathan*'s Election, licensed a Pamphlet, called, *A List of the Names of the Aldermen that will be put in Nomination for Lord Mayor.* The Libeller pretended to a mighty Understanding in the Customs and Constitutions of the City, and by his Paper-stuft with Lies, tells the Citizens that he hoped they would not be drawn aside from Voting and Polling for both *Raymond* and *Daniel*. This was stamp'd 26 *Sept.* 1692. Licens'd *Edmund Bohun*, and industriously spread about the City, as carrying a Badg of Authority with it; when at the same time *Bohun* himself in Person, went about (as if he had been a Magistrate of the City) to solicite against, and obstruct the Election of that well-deserving Magistrate Sir *John Fleete*, now happily Lord Mayor.

Sir,

Sir, Having thus shown you what sort of Pamphlets pass'd currently with this Censor at the Press; to make what speed I can towards a Conclusion, I proceed to shew you what Books he hath disallow'd and suppress'd.

That *Noble Peer*, the *Earl* of *Warrington*, having allowed a *Speech* which he made to the *Grand Jury* at *Chester*, in *April* 1692, to be printed; The Publisher carried an Advertisement thereof to be inserted in the Paper which comes out every *Monday*, intituled, *The City Mercury*: But *this Press-Superintendant* disliking his *Lordship's* excellent Positions, struck out the Advertisement, and forbad it to be printed. But humbly begging his *Lordship's* Pardon for my presumption, I will (without *Mr. Hot-head's* Licence) transcribe a Paragraph or two of this excellent Speech.

'The late King *James* his Administration (*saith his Lordship*) 'rendred him unmeet to sway the Scepter. And I am very 'well satisfied, that the Judgment upon him was Just; for un- 'less a People are decreed to be miserable, which *God Almighty* 'will never do, except thereto very highly provoked by their 'Sins: certainly he will never so tie up their Hands, that they 'shall not be allowed to use them, when they have no other 'way to help themselves.

'Several Artifices were made use of in the two late Reigns, 'for the introducing *Arbitrary Power and Popery*; one of which 'was to insinuate into the Minds of the People, *that the Succession* 'of the Crown was the chief Pillar of the Government, and that the 'breaking into it, upon any Pretence whatsoever, was no less 'than a dissolution of the whole Constitution, and nothing but 'Disorder and Confusion would ensue.———

'*Election was certainly the Original of Succession.*

'Succession is a very feeble Title, without something else to 'support it, and I think I may say Defective.

'I could never understand that *Divine Right* that was by 'some stampt upon the Title to the *Crown*, or that the *Succession* 'was preferable to the *Publick Good.*

' I do not apprehend that a *King* that comes to the Crown by *Election*, ſhould think worſe of his Title, than if he had come in by *Succeſſion*, but rather the more ſecurely ———.

' Several Laws were put in execution againſt the *Diſſenters*, which were plainly and directly made for other Purpoſes ——.

' I was always of Opinion that it would never go well with *England*, till every Man might worſhip *God* in his own way.———

Thus was his *Lordſhip* pleaſed to expreſs himſelf; and when you conſider how vaſtly diſſonant theſe his *true Engliſh Principles are* from the rotten Notions of our corrupt Stateſman *Bolus*, you will ceaſe to wonder at his Attempt to ſuppreſs them; but I hope will not forget his Impudence therein.

This *avowed Enemy* to the true Government of *England*, treated the Reverend and highly-meriting Mr. *Johnſon's* late excellent *Argument upon the Abrogation of the late King* James *by the People of* England *from the Throne*, which ſets the Government upon its true Baſis, as he did my *Lord* of *Warrington's*, and expung'd it out of the *Weekly City Mercury*.

Further, he refuſed to allow the printing of a Book called *A New Martyrology*, which gives an Account of the Cruelty and bloody Practices of *Jefferies* in the *Weſt*; and told Mr. *Dunton* the *Bookſeller*, who carried it to him, that *he would not Licenſe it for its Weight in Gold.*

His Reaſon for this Denial may be ſeen in many places of his *three Addreſſes*, and particularly *Pag.* 58. of the third, whereby it appears how highly *Bolus* eſteemed that grand Betrayer of our Liberties.

Sir, I would break off here, but that I remember the Promiſe I made you in my Letter, to give my Reaſons why I thought *Bolus* weary of his Place. In ſhort, they are theſe.

1. I took notice that he published in the *City Mercury*, that *whosoever had business with Mr.* Bohun *Licencer at the Press, must during the Session of Parliament, attend him before eleven of the Clock in the Morning.* Now looking upon the List, and not finding him to be a Member of your House, and at the same time reading in his *three Addresses* how insolently he had arraigned former Parliaments, and declared, (as *pag.* 49. of his third Address) That *the House of Commons printing their Votes, could be designed for nothing but to enable the People to pass a Judgment on their Actions; and that without printing, it might have been difficult to have known what they had done, so as to have charged them:* I began to suspect that he made it his daily work to attend in your Lobby, to gather Matter for an *Impeachment* against your House; or at least, for *a fourth Address* to his *Freeholders* of *Suffolk* (for I am assured that the three former were mainly calculated for that County) to keep Sir *Samuel Barnardiston*, and Sir *Gervase Elwes* out of the next Parliament. Now should this prove to be the Case, I conclude, that this Task, with that of *Licensing*, is too heavy for his Crazy Carcase, and that therefore he might choose to quit the trouble of watching the Press.

2. I observed, that in *the City Mercury*, he at another time advertised the World, That *his Affairs calling him into the Country, whoever had Business with Mr. Licencer, should repair to Mr.* Stevens, *Messenger of the Press.* Upon which I thought that he who had such frequent Avocations, might be willing to surrender. If I mistake in this, I hope I do not, when I assert, that the Man who is very fit to watch the Press, that Unlicens'd Books creep not out, may not be of a Capacity to judg what may, and what may not be printed; and if he be not, I am sure he is not qualified for the Place of *Deputy-Licencer.*

Sir, I hope you will pardon my Prolixity, when you consider that I have collected the accursed Principles of this vile Man out of many of his damnable Tracts, and that without being at the trouble of reading them, you have here before you the Quintessence of near 800 Pages; you here see the Sentiments of his Soul. He hath approved himself a very Evil Instrument, and taken great pains to poison the Kingdom with a Set of

Opinions, which have highly tended to the Ruin of the Peace of the Nation, and its Government: for he and his Accomplices who design'd to enslave us by *the late Doctrine of Passive Obedience*, involv'd us in the present Bloody War; and if We now behold a dreadful Cloud hanging over our Heads, and darkning that bright Sun-shine, of which we had a glimpse about four Years since, I will adventure to say, that it ought to be placed to the Account of these *Passive-Obedience-Men*, and to the rotten Principles to which they are forc'd to recur, for the support of their Darling Doctrine.

I have taken all this Pains to shew the World the right Spirit and Temper of a true *Tory*; and I crave leave to observe, that this Man cannot hide his Nature, the Eruptions of his Choler are ungovernable. I did before point at his Licensing a Pamphlet which traduces the Legal Establishment of the Church of Scotland, printed by *Hindmarsh*; to whom I gave the Epithet of *Blessedness*; and upon second thoughts, I esteem my self accountable to give a Reason for so doing, and 'tis because about ten or twelve Years ago (to the best of my Remembrance) he publish'd a damnable Paper, wherein the *Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Ten Commandments* were turn'd into *Nonsense*, beginning thus, *I believe in John Calvin*, &c. This entitled him to *Baron's* Favour; and his being a *Non-Juror* to their Majesties, with his old Service in furnishing their Enemies, *the Non-swearing Episcopal Clergy-men of Scotland*, with that grateful piece, gave him preference to all others to be their Bookseller. That Libel being come to my hand since I mention'd it to you, I find it is intituled *An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland, &c.* and was Licens'd by *Bohun*, 24 Sept. 1692. and with your leave I will transcribe a few passages from it.

In fact, (Pag. 86.) 'The whole scheme of their [the *Presbyterian*] Religion (as they differ from the Episcopal Party) 'is nothing in it self but ungovernable Humour and Rebellion.

And pag. 94. it very modestly affirms, That *the Presbyterian Preachments do more hurt to Piety, than the most subtile Arguments of Ancient and Modern Infidels.*

And

And *pag.* 96. *The Presbyterians began their Faction with Calumny, and they cannot now (if they would) lay it aside* ——— *When they forbear to breath, then it is that they forbear to slander and calumniate.* Pag. 99. *The more they lie, the more true they are to the Spirit of the Party.*

Behold here what a *Synagogue of Satan* their Majesties have established in their *ancient Kingdom*; the whole Scheme of their Religion (in *Athe-head's* Judgment) is *Rebellion*; they are worse than *Atheists*.

I remember that in the latter End of *Charles* or *James* the Second (I am not certain in which) the French Ambassador made a Complaint, that our *dear and most Christian Brother and Ally*, his *Master*, had been rudely treated in a printed Pamphlet here; we immediately censur'd the Crime, and recanted it in the *Gazette*.

But here we see this *Stranger* of the *Scotish Nation*, who said, as I told you but now, that Presbytery was hatch'd in Rebellion, and that Kings must be their irreconcilable Enemies, as long as they mean to be Masters of their Power, he is set up not only to ridicule and revile that Kingdom, which not only began well in the Settlement of the Government, which they declared that *the late King, by breaking the Laws had forfeited*, but hath signaliz'd it self in the Support of their *Majesties glorious Cause*, and particularly in the Battel of *Steinkirk*, where that noble and hopeful young Peer, the Earl of *Angus*, that excellent Commander General *Mackay*, with a great Number of gallant Officers and Souldiers of that Kingdom fell in their Service.

But (which highly aggravates the Crime of this *Calumniator*) that Nation and its Government is not only slander'd by him, but he tacitly and injuriously reflects, with the highest Impudence upon their Majesties, in saying, that the Religion which they have establish'd there, is such as the Devil would blush at: And yet he is not made to blush for this Villany, but is a *White-Boy* in the Opinion of some about *Whitehall*.

Sir,

Sir, 'Twas in my Purpose to have made more particular Remarks than I have done upon this Man's vile Principles, wherewith I believe I have nauseated you; but I have already ran out to a much greater length than I intended; however I would observe that he cannot be affectionate to the true English Government, that writes as he hath done; and his Loyalty to their Majesties, and Love to the present Establishment, may well be called into Question, who hath commended Parliaments, (and particularly those whose Members his Highness the Prince of *Orange* in his great Wisdom thought fit to assemble at *Westminster* in the *Interregnum*, to consult the Kingdom's Settlement) at the rate which he hath done; but 'tis evident that it was his Practice and damnable Design to countenance and justify the highest Violations of our Liberties that ever were committed; to arraign one of the three Estates; and to delude a great part of the People into an *Abhorrence* of their own Representatives: And that such Practices as these should in this Reign recommend him to *a Place of Profit and Trust*; who when he wrote the pernicious Libels wherewith I have entertain'd you, in the time of *Charles* II, complained that he must live and die a private Person, for that *he had no means to attain any publick Employment or Place of Trust*, is to me, I must confess, a Matter of Admiration.

I have done, Sir, when I have laid before you my humble Request, that you would oblige me in using your Interest at *Whitehall*, to procure Answers to these following Queries, and that I may have them by the next Post conveyed to me.

Your Servant,

J. M.

Query

Query 1. IT is said that one Mr. *Fraser* was Mr. *Bohun*'s Predecessor in the Place of *Licenser*, I desire to be informed how he came to be removed, and wherefore; whether it were for allowing the late Reverend Dr. *Walker* to print his Book, intituled, *The true, modest and faithful Account of the Author of* Eicon Basilice, &c. For that Book is made up of such unconquerable Truths, that I undertake not one of them will be gainsaid by any Minister of the Church of *England*, between *Whitehall* and *Aldgate*, upon the 30th of this Instant *January*, 169⅔.

Q. 2. Who sent for *Bohun* out of *Suffolk* to put him into the Licensing Post?

Q. 3. Whether he deserves better than Mr. *Fraser*, and in what respect? Whether he hath not 100 or 200 *per Annum* Salary, and who pays it? And what Salary Mr. *Fraser* had? I thus enquire, because I have heard he had none, but executed the Place for the Contingent Perquisites which accrued by Licensing Books.

Q. 4. Whether in case Mr. *Bohun* should have the Mishap to be removed, an Interest may not be made to restore Trusty Sir *Roger L.* to that Employment? for they are *Cronies*, and as 'tis well known have Acted by Concert; and I will undertake that he shall Article with *Bohun* to surrender and reinstate him at a Year's end; provided that they may take their turns in it. What though *Sir Roger* be excepted in the Act of *Indemnity*, a Man may with little hazard take his place at *Pillory*, *Whipping-Post*, or *Tyburn* (tho' he deserv'd them all) for one Dish of Coffee at honest *Sam*'s.

ADVERTISEMENT.

SInce I had taken a Resolution to publish these my Scriblings, I hear that *Bohun* is fallen under the displeasure of the Parliament; but that I may not be thought to insult over him, I have many Witnesses to attest that these Papers had been publish'd, though he had not fallen into Tribulation.

I so detested the Title of the Book *King* William *and Queen* Mary *Conquerors*, &c. for which he is it seems called into question, that I could not in some Days bring my self into Tem-

per.

per to peruse it; but at length I have done it, and made these two Observations thereupon.

1. The Author hath (in my poor Opinion) raised as strong Objections against our present legal Establishment, as *Bodin* himself, in Conjunction with *Le-Strange* could have done; and answer'd them as weakly, as they, or the most malicious Enemy their *Majesties* have, can desire.

2. The Positions herein laid down smell so strong of *Bodin's* old Principles, that I almost suspect the thing to come out of his Mint: for Nature will be Nature; and therefore if he were not the Author, I wonder not that he usher'd it into the World. Now, seeing we are *Conquer'd*; I will put down our Duty, and what our Deportment is to be even under *Conquest*, tho' the highest *Tyranny* ensues upon it, as I find it laid down in his Preface, to *Pinar's Patriotism*; *Conquer'd People* (saith he) *that are in some Countries treated as Slaves, and but a little better than Brutes, have certainly a very good Appeal to the Tribunal of God against their Princes; who will certainly right them in another World, if they suffer patiently in this.* O Wretched *Nation!* that we are under this Enslaving Doctrine of *PASSIVE OBEDIENCE!*

To say no more, I cannot but esteem the whole Work vent, and as full of Errors as of Malice, against the *English* Government, and in truth against their Sacred Majesties. And I conclude, in the Words of the incomparable Mr. *Johnson*, in his Dedication to the present House of Commons; 'If we are a 'Conquer'd People; Then I am sure that all the boasted English 'Liberties amount to no more than this, that our Thoughts are 'Free, and their Post-Letters Frank.

FINIS.

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